

Message Text

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SUBJECT: SELECTED US PRESS COVERAGE OF DEPSEC CHRISTOPHER'S
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TRIP - 4

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE BY
BERNARD GWERTZMAN THAT APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES
APRIL 2.

QUOTE: PRESIDENT, IN SHIFT, TO SEEK TO END BAN ON ARMS FOR
TURKEY. CONGRESS WILL GET REQUEST. CARTER IS ACTING OUT
OF CONCERN THAT ANKARA MAY REDUCE TIES TO ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.
THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, IN A MAJOR POLICY SHIFT, HAS DE-

CIDED TO URGE CONGRESS TO END A THREE-YEAR-OLD ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY WITHOUT WAITING FIRST FOR CONCESSIONS TOWARD ENDING THE CYPRUS DISPUTE, OFFICIALS SAID TODAY.

SINCE THE EMBARGO WAS INSTITUTED BY CONGRESS IN 1975 TO PRESS TURKEY TO YIELD ON THE CYPRUS QUESTION, MR. CARTER'S DECISION--MADE JUST BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE ON HIS CURRENT OVERSEAS TRIP--RUNS THE RISK OF PROVOKING A POLITICAL CONFRONTATION. IT PITS THE ADMINISTRATION AGAINST BOTH THE ORGANIZED GREEK-AMERICAN COMMUNITY AND SUPPORTERS OF GREECE ON CAPITOL HILL WHO HAVE ALREADY WARNED THE WHITE HOUSE ON THIS ISSUE.

U.S. EXPECTS TURKEY TO RECIPROCATATE. AS PART OF THE PLAN, A FOUR-YEAR DOLS 1 BILLION DEFENSE ACCORD WITH TURKEY SIGNED IN 1976, BUT NOT APPROVED BY CONGRESS, WOULD BE REWRITTEN. CONGRESS THUS WOULD NOT HAVE TO VOTE ON IT FOR SOME TIME. THE ADMINISTRATION DECIDED THAT IT WAS EASIER TO ASK CONGRESS TO APPROVE JUST AN END TO THE EMBARGO RATHER THAN TO SEEK APPROVAL OF THE FOUR-YEAR AID PACKAGE AS WELL.

TURKEY HAS NOT BEEN ASKED TO MAKE ANY PUBLIC PLEDGES EITHER UNCLASSIFIED

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TO TAKE STEPS TO RESOLVE THE DISPUTE OVER CYPRUS, WHICH IT INVADDED IN 1974 OR TO REOPEN AMERICAN BASES IN TURKEY CLOSED IN 1975 IN RETALIATION FOR THE EMBARGO. BUT OFFICIALS SAID THAT, AS A RESULT OF CONSULTATIONS, THE UNITED STATES EXPECTED TURKEY TO MOVE ON BOTH ISSUES ONCE WASHINGTON HAD TAKEN THE FIRST STEP.

THE PROBABILITY OF A DISPUTE WITH SUPPORTERS OF GREECE IS VIEWED BY OFFICIALS WITH CONCERN SINCE THE ADMINISTRATION ALREADY FACES BATTLES ON CAPITOL HILL OVER THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES--THE SECOND IS DUE TO COME TO A VOTE LATER THIS MONTH--AND OVER THE PROJECTED PACKAGE OF AIRCRAFT SALES TO EGYPT, ISRAEL AND SAUDI ARABIA.

MR. CARTER WAS DESCRIBED AS HAVING MADE THE DECISION TO SEEK AN END TO THE EMBARGO ON THE ADVICE OF DEFENSE SECRETARY HAROLD R. BROWN, SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE AND ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, THE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER. THEIR RECOMMENDATION WAS REPORTED TO BE BASED ON FEAR THAT UNLESS THE UNITED STATES MOVED QUICKLY, TURKEY MIGHT REDUCE ITS TIES TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, CLOSE AMERICAN BASES PERMANENTLY, BOYCOTT AN ATLANTIC SUMMIT MEETING IN MAY, AND PERHAPS ADOPT A MORE NEUTRAL STANCE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

TO FACILITATE THE REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO, MR. CARTER DECIDED NOT TO ASK CONGRESS TO APPROVE THE TURKISH ACCORD THAT HAD

BEEN NEGOTIATED BY THE FORD ADMINISTRATION IN 1976 AND PROVIDED DOLS 1 BILLION IN MILITARY AID OVER A FOUR-YEAR PERIOD IN RETURN FOR THE REOPENING OF THE 25 AMERICAN MILITARY BASES CLOSED IN 1975 IN RETALIATION FOR THE EMBARGO. INSTEAD, MR. CARTER DECIDED TO SEEK A REVISION OF THE ACCORD TO DEAL WITH THE BASES AND PUT THE AID ISSUE ON A YEAR-BY-YEAR BASIS.

THE NEW POLICY WILL BE CONVEYED TO CONGRESS BY THE STATE
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DEPARTMENT ON THURSDAY, OFFICIALS SAID. IT INCLUDES AN INCREASE OF MILITARY CREDITS FOR GREECE IN THE 1979 FISCAL

YEAR FROM THE DOLS 122 MILLION ORIGINALLY PROPOSED TO THE 1978 LEVEL OF DOLS 140 MILLION. THERE ALSO WILL BE SOME ECONOMIC AID FOR TURKEY.

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE, WARREN M. CHRISTOPHER, FLEW TO ANKARA ON MONDAY TO INFORM THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER, BULENT ECEVIT, OF THE DECISION AND TO EXPLORE LONG-TERM POLICIES. MR. ECEVIT AGREED TO A REVISION OF THE DEFENSE PACT ON THE GROUND THAT THE DOLS 1 BILLION WAS NO LONGER ADEQUATE. HE WAS NOT ASKED TO MAKE ANY COMMITMENTS PUBLICLY ON EITHER CYPRUS OR THE BASES. BUT ONE HIGH OFFICIAL SAID THE UNITED STATES HAD GOOD GROUNDS FOR EXPECTING THAT ONCE CONGRESS ACTED TO END THE EMBARGO, PROGRESS WOULD FOLLOW.

LAST YEAR, IN A POLICY STATEMENT ON TURKEY, THE ADMINISTRATION ENDORSED THE FOUR-YEAR PACT, BUT TOLD CONGRESS THAT IT DID NOT EXPECT ACTION UNTIL THERE WAS MOVEMENT TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THIS WAS AN INDIRECT ACCEPTANCE OF THE LINKAGE CONCEPT THAT CONGRESS HAD INSTITUTED IN 1975. RECENTLY, MR. ECEVIT AGAIN REJECTED THE CONCEPT AND INDICATED THAT HE WOULD NOT CARRY OUT HIS PROMISE TO OFFER A PROPOSAL TO END THE CYPRUS DISPUTE IF THE UNITED STATES WAS LINKING SUCH A MOVE TO MILITARY AID.

U.S. DECIDES TO TAKE FIRST STEP. THE ADMINISTRATION CONCLUDED, ACCORDING TO ONE OFFICIAL, THAT EFFORTS TO SEEK CONCESSIONS BEFOREHAND WOULD NOT WORK. "NO TURKISH LEADER COULD SURVIVE POLITICALLY BY APPEARING TO YIELD," HE SAID. "SO WE DECIDED TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP AND SEEK THE END TO THE EMBARGO."
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SINCE TURKEY'S INVASION OF THE NORTHERN, ETHNIC TURKISH PART OF CYPRUS IN 1974, THE TURKS HAVE CONTROLLED 40 PERCENT OF THE ISLAND, EVEN THOUGH THE TURKISH CYPRIOT POPULATION IS ONLY 18 PERCENT. MR. ECEVIT HAS SAID HE WOULD MAKE

A PROPOSAL FOR A FAIRER DIVISION. THE UNITED STATES HOPES THAT HE WILL MAKE HIS MOVE BEFORE THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION COMES TO A VOTE IN CONGRESS TO HELP INSURE PASSAGE.

ALTHOUGH THE EMBARGO VOTED IN 1975 WAS TOTAL, CONGRESS SUBSEQUENTLY APPROVED SOME MODIFICATIONS. FOR INSTANCE, IN THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR, TURKEY IS PERMITTED TO BUY DOLS 175 MILLION WORTH OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT, FINANCED BY A LOAN. BUT THIS IS INSUFFICIENT FOR ITS NEEDS TO MODERNIZE ITS ARMED FORCES AND TO BUY SPARE PARTS, DEFENSE OFFICIALS SAID.

BY ENDING THE EMBARGO, CONGRESS WOULD ALLOW TURKEY TO PAY IN CASH FOR ADDITIONAL MILITARY MATERIAL.

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS AGAIN SET A LIMIT OF DOLS 175 MILLION IN MILITARY CREDITS FOR THE 1979 FISCAL YEAR. TURKEY HAS RESENTED NOT ONLY THE LIMIT BUT ALSO THE FACT THAT IT IS THE ONLY AMERICAN ALLY SINGLED OUT FOR AN EMBARGO. END QUOTE

2. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF AN EDITORIAL THAT APPEARED IN THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR APRIL 3.

QUOTE: REALISM ON ARMS FOR TURKEY. PRESIDENT CARTER'S DECISION TO URGE CONGRESS TO END THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY HAS FAR MORE THAN A NARROW, BILATERAL DIMENSION. IT REFLECTS A GROWING CONCERN THAT TURKEY'S ESTRANGEMENT FROM THE UNITED STATES IS DANGEROUSLY WEAKENING THE SOUTHEASTERN FLANK OF THE NATO ALLIANCE AND INDEED HANDING TO THE SOVIET UNION GRATIS ANOTHER POTENTIAL ADVANTAGE IN THE WHOLE STRATEGIC CONFRONTATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

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THE PRESIDENT IS ABSOLUTELY RIGHT. THE UNITED STATES CANNOT AFFORD TO TOY WITH ITS SECURITY INTERESTS FOR POLITICAL REASONS. TO DELIBERATELY DRIVE A STRONG, DEMOCRATIC ALLY AWAY FROM NATO TOWARD NEUTRALITY IS SHORT-SIGHTED FOLLY AND WE ARE GLAD TO SEE THE ADMINISTRATION MOVING VIGOROUSLY NOW TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE.

IT OUGHT TO BE CLEAR TO CONGRESS THAT IT HAS ONLY MADE MATTERS WORSE IN THE PAST THREE YEARS BY LINKING ARMS AID FOR TURKEY WITH TURKISH CONCESSIONS ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE. THIS QUID PRO QUO HAS MADE THE TURKS MORE ADAMANT, THEY ARE AN INDEPENDENT, PROUD PEOPLE WHO REFUSE TO BE SEEN BENDING TO FOREIGN PRESSURE.

PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT HAS STATED, HOWEVER, THAT HE INTENDS TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT CYPRUS AND THERE IS STRONG REASON TO BELIEVE HIM. HE IS GENERATING AN ENCOURAGING NEW MOMENTUM. ONLY IN OFFICE A SHORT TIME, HE ALREADY HAS EXERCISED VIGOROUS LEADERSHIP BY CLAMPING DOWN ON LEFTIST DEMON-

STRATORS, HOLDING A SUMMIT MEETING IN GREECE AND SECURING AN AGREEMENT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND. IF HE CAN SOON POINT TO A LIFTING OF THE AMERICAN EMBARGO--WHICH WILL ENABLE TURKEY TO BUY MILITARY EQUIPMENT IT SORELY NEEDS--HE SHOULD BE IN A STRONG POSITION TO TAKE A MORE CONCILIATORY STAND ON A CYPRUS AGREEMENT.

HENCE IT IS TO BE HOPED THE AMERICAN LAWMAKERS WILL VIEW WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE BROADEST POSSIBLE CONTEXT INSTEAD OF TRYING TO PLEASE THEIR GREEK-AMERICAN CONSTITUENTS. THEY MIGHT REFLECT ON THE FACT THAT GREECE, TOO, IS BEGINNING TO SEE THE IMPORTANCE OF SHORING UP NATO. IF TURKEY--

LEGITIMATELY ANNOYED THAT IT CANNOT BUY AMERICAN ARMS EVEN UNCLASSIFIED

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THOUGH IT MAINTAINS THE SECOND LARGEST STANDING ARMY IN NATO AFTER THE UNITED STATES--WERE TO PULL OUT OF THE ALLIANCE AND BECOME NONALIGNED, HOW WOULD THIS HELP GREECE? END QUOTE.

3. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF AN ARTICLE BY NICHOLAS GAGE THAT APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES APRIL 3.

QUOTE: GREEKS CRITICIZING U.S. ON TURKEY. LEADING GREEK POLITICAL FIGURES REACTED WITH RARE UNANIMITY TODAY IN EXPLORE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S PLAN TO ASK CONGRESS TO END THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY WITHOUT WAITING FOR TURKISH CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS.

PRIME MINISTER CONSTANTINE CARAMANLIS WAS ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO DENMARK; BUT DEFENSE MINISTER EVANGELOS AVEROFF-TOSITSAS, SPEAKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT, SAID: "I DON'T THINK THAT IT'S POSITIVE OR JUST THAT AN EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO LIFT THE EMBARGO BEFORE TURKISH PROPOSALS FOR A CYPRUS SOLUTION HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AS PROMISED."

FROM CYPRUS, PRESIDENT SPYROS KYPRIANOU SAID IN A TELEPHONE INTERVIEW THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD CONVEYED ITS "STRONG PROTEST" TO THE UNITED STATES. A CLOSE AIDE OF MR. KYPRIANOU SAID, "EVERYONE IN THE GOVERNMENT FEELS CYPRUS HAS BEEN LET DOWN COMPLETELY."

EFFECT ON GREECE AND NATO. GREEK GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS HERE SAID THAT THE EFFORT TO END THE EMBARGO WOULD THREATEN ANY PROSPECT THAT GREECE MIGHT REJOIN THE MILITARY ARM OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION, WHICH IT LEFT FOLLOWING THE 1974 TURKISH INVASION OF CYPRUS, AND THAT IT WOULD ENHANCE THE CHANCES THAT ANDREAS PAPANDREOU, THE SOCIALIST OPPOSITION LEADER AND A VEHEMENT CRITIC OF THE UNITED STATES, WOULD COME TO POWER. MR. PAPANDREOU CALLED FOR GREECE TO

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CLOSE ALL ITS AMERICAN BASES AND SEVER ITS REMAINING POLITICAL TIES TO NATO.

GEORGE MAVROS, CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC CENTER UNION PARTY, THE THIRD LARGEST IN PARLIAMENT, AGREED WITH MR. PAPANDREOU AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS THAT LIFTING THE EMBARGO MIGHT HASTEN A CONFRONTATION WITH TURKEY. THEY SAID MODERNIZATION OF TURKEY'S ARMED FORCES, THE LARGEST IN WESTERN EUROPE AND TWICE THE SIZE OF GREECE'S, WOULD ENCOURAGE TURKEY TO PRESS ITS DEMANDS CONCERNING GREEK ISLANDS CLOSE TO TURKEY IN THE AEGEAN.

MR. MAVROS SAID LIFTING THE EMBARGO WOULD ACCELERATE THE ARMS RACE BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY, WHICH HE SAID NEITHER COUNTRY COULD AFFORD. BOTH COUNTRIES SPEND A BIGGER PERCENTAGE OF THEIR BUDGETS ON ARMS THAN THE UNITED STATES DOES.

ON FRIDAY, THE GREEK DEFENSE DEPARTMENT SAID THAT WHATEVER ARMS TURKEY OBTAINS, GREECE WILL NOT ALLOW THE CURRENT BALANCE OF MILITARY POWER IN THE AREA TO BE ALTERED. THE STATEMENT FOLLOWED NEWS REPORTS THAT TURKEY HAD RECEIVED THE FIRST OF 40 PHANTOM JETS ORDERED FROM THE UNITED STATES IN 1976. IN RESPONSE TO THAT PURCHASE, GREECE ORDERED 26 PHANTOMS ON WHICH DELIVERY IS EXPECTED TO BEGIN SOON. END QUOTE. CHRISTOPHER

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